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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY - OPEN SOURCES ON AFRICA

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PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter, although significant periodical articles are also cited. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are Eunice Charles, Nancy Drexler, Kenneth Liberstein, Moses Pinkston, and Rachel Warner. Word processing support was provided by Cheryl D. Walker.

Africa General

Arlinghaus, Bruce E. Military Development in Africa--The Political and Economic Risks of Arms Transfer. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984, 152 pp.

This study describes and analyzes the growth and modernization of armed forces in Africa and examines the political and economic risks associated with military development. The author focuses on the key role played by arms transfers. The military development process has significant implications for US policy on arms transfers and security assistance to Africa. Arlinghaus stresses that African nations are pursuing military development through arms transfers in response to very real threats in the region. Although African countries have serious economic problems, they cannot put off military development and concentrate solely on economic development. From his analysis, Arlinghaus concludes that the United States should increase military aid to Africa to gain political influence in the region. However, much greater care must be taken in choosing the type of aid provided, taking into account what effect it will have on each country's politics, economy, and technology.

Arlinghaus, Bruce E., ed. African Security Issues: Sovereignty, Stability, and Solidarity. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984, 229 pp.

African states have discovered that despite hopes for rapid economic development through regional cooperation and solidarity and the assistance of industrialized nations, national defense must come first. This book contains chapters on all aspects of African security issues, including security problems, superpower rivalry in Africa, relations between African countries and the rest of the world, internal stability, and state-to-state cooperation.

Denny, Lesley M. "Portugal and Africa: The Consequences of Military Intervention." Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, June 1984, pp. 38-42.

An analysis of the repercussions of the April 1974 Portuguese coup d'etat on Africa, including a description of the events which led to the takeover. The author argues that the subsequent independence of all of Portugal's colonies in Africa and the total withdrawal of its armed forces contributed to the civil war in Angola and to the economic chaos in Mozambique as well as to the enormous white exodus from both territories.

Ifeagwu, Sam. "The Soviets in Africa." Africa, September 1984, pp. 10-19.

A review of Soviet relations with African countries and the problems Soviets face, including language barriers and competition with Western development aid. Nonetheless, the author argues that the Soviet Union has made lasting friends and partners in Africa over the last 2 decades. He concludes that attitudes in the West toward Africa are again hardening and

racism is growing so that Africa is once more looking toward the East as it did in the 1960s.

Legum, Colin. "China's Ties With Africa." New African, November 1984, pp. 43-45.

This article traces China's priorities in Africa which include increased trade and stronger cultural and political relations. The next decade should witness increased foreign relations and bilateral exchanges since Africa ranks high in China's foreign relations priorities, according to Legum.

October Revolution and Africa. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1983, 280 pp.

The Soviet view of the influence of the 1917 Russian revolution on African national liberation movements and the development of the Socialist-oriented African countries is presented. Also discussed are the foundations of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, and the significance of the principle of internationalism in Soviet relations with the newly independent nations of Africa.

Pabanel, Jean-Pierre. Les Coups d'Etat Militaires en Afrique Noire (Military Coups in Black Africa). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1984, 184 pp.

Pabanel argues that to understand the causes of military coups, it is necessary to examine conditions in the state, not in the army. The political systems of states which have not experienced coups as well as those with coups should be studied to isolate factors contributing to military take-overs. The author discusses in detail three explanations for coups which are frequently put forth--ethnic conflict, the absence of a middle class, and increased militarization--and finds them all inadequate. However, he does not offer his own explanation, arguing that each African state must be examined individually. The book concludes with summaries of the coups which have occurred in Africa.

Tripp, Charles. "Libya and Africa (La Libye et l'Afrique)," Middle East Review, February 1984, pp. 317-28.

Colonel Qadhafi's interest in Africa coincides with the evolution of his concept of revolution. In the mid-1970s this concept became increasingly based on principles particularly applicable to developing countries. Qadhafi's problems in Africa are two-fold: his prodigious generosity yielded no concrete results on the continent, penalizing instead Libyan domestic priorities, and his absolutism caused a groundswell of hostility which jeopardized his interests in Africa. Chad is a microcosm of Qadhafi's accomplishments in Africa to date: the political and economic costs clearly outweigh any possible gain.

Botswana

Dale, Richard. "The Creation and Use of the Botswana Defence Force." The Round Table, April 1984, pp. 216-35.

The author uses the institutional transfer approach in analyzing the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). The present BDF has no direct, long-standing colonial antecedent as is customarily the case regarding armed forces on the African continent. The author's inquiry focuses on the force structure and mission, recruitment and training, the economic resources consumed by the BDF, and the transfer of overseas military hardware and expertise to the army. Finally, the author investigates the relative role of the BDF within the regional setting, where the management and application of violence are an integral part of the quest for majority rule.

Ethiopia

Keller, Edmond J. "The Ethiopian Revolution: How Socialist Is It?" Journal of African Studies, vol. II, no. 2 (Summer 1984), pp. 52-65.

The author analyzes the Ethiopian revolution in terms of how successfully it has followed five major principles of Marxism-Leninism. These principles are defined as: the establishment of a revolutionary ideology; the creation of an authoritarian state apparatus capable of enforcing policies; the elimination of private ownership of the means of production; the establishment of a class-conscious proletarian party capable of penetrating all aspects of society; and the resolution of the nationalities question. Keller concludes that the regime is a radical military dictatorship with a socialist orientation. Although it is still possible for Ethiopia to chart a socialist course, there are serious obstacles to socialist development. These include widespread opposition to the regime's ideology, the nationalities question, and insufficient commitment among Ethiopia's military leaders.

Lefort, Rene. Ethiopia: An Heretical Revolution? London: Zed Press, 1983, 301 pp.

The Ethiopian Revolution has been largely ignored by the outside world because the Ethiopian Government is secretive and restricts research by foreigners. Also, the leftist political scientists who generally show an avid interest in revolutionary movements have generally ignored Ethiopia's revolution because they find it disturbing. The author gives an account of the revolution up until 1978 when Mengistu became the clear leader and the pace of change began to slow. An attempt is made to examine how the revolution affected Ethiopians of all classes and in all areas of the country. Since in most cases it is impossible to obtain documentation of recent events in Ethiopia, Lefort relies heavily on the personal notes of an unnamed friend who resided in Ethiopia during the period examined in the book. His text was first published in 1981 in French.

Tseggai, Araia. "Independent Eritrea: Economically Viable?" Horn of Africa, vol. 6, no. 2 (1984), pp. 39-49.

One of the reasons used in the United Nations in 1950 to deny Eritrea independence was the claim that the former Italian colony was not economically viable. The author attempts to show that Eritrea has adequate resources to survive and even prosper as an independent country. While it is true that the agricultural sector has not been very productive since Eritrea became part of Ethiopia, during the colonial period agricultural productivity was high and has the potential of being so again, he argues. Eritrea also has mineral deposits and other natural resources and a sufficiently well-developed infrastructure to allow exploitation of these resources. The author dismisses the claim that Eritrea's size and population are too small for independent status by pointing out that there are at least 62 UN member states with a smaller surface area than Eritrea; 40 of these states also have smaller populations. He maintains the allegations that Eritrea is not economically viable have been made purely for political reasons by Ethiopia and its allies.

Francophone Africa

Chipman, John. "Les Problemes de Securite en Afrique Francophone (Security Problems in Francophone Africa)." Politique Etrangere, no. 2 (1984), pp. 331-53.

Recent events in Guinea and Cameroon have emphasized the fragile nature of peace in most francophone African countries. Shortly after Sekou Toure's death in April 1984, the military seized power in Guinea, and just days following this coup, the civil government in Cameroon was threatened by military elements who had remained loyal to former President Ahidjo. The author discusses the different types of security problems present in francophone African countries, regional options to cope with them, and France's role in regional structures. He concludes that regional cooperation will have little impact on the prevention of internal upheavals. The article includes tables and a chronology of recent events in Chad.

Kenya

Nyong'o, Anyang. "The Decline of Democracy and the Rise of Authoritarian and Factionalist Politics in Kenya." Horn of Africa, vol. 6, no. 3 (1984), pp. 25-34.

This article traces the erosion of democratic government in Kenya which led to the 1982 coup attempt. Between 1960 and 1964 Kenyan politics were marked by genuine popular participation, but since then, democratic political activity has been systematically curtailed. The author gives a concise account of how and why the men in power have dismantled democratic government over the years. Today's regime finds itself unable to build a strong personal presidential system of government and unable to gain a popular constituency. Through repression of all criticism the regime has

isolated itself, destabilizing its own position by not being aware of popular sentiments. The men in power have not learned from the experience of the 1982 uprising but continue their politics of conformity which will ultimately be far more destabilizing than permitting more open political expression, the author concludes.

Mali

Schissel, Howard. "No More Room for Maneuver." Africa Report, September-October 1984, pp. 37-39.

Critical economic imbalances resulting from failed development strategies and the ravages of persistent drought are forcing Mali's military leadership toward economic liberalism. However, economic liberalism is not without significant political risks. Mali's IMF-inspired reform program disadvantages the military and public sectors and consequently will cut off the Traore regime from much of its political base. The danger is compounded as support in the countryside is largely symbolic. As President Traore's domestic political credit runs low, Malian authorities are troubled by signs of regional malaise in neighboring Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Niger.

Mozambique

Mozambique: Du Sous-Developpement au Socialism (Mozambique: From Underdevelopment to Socialism). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1983, 198 pp.

A report of the Central Committee of the Fourth Congress of FRELIMO held in Maputo from 26 to 30 April 1983. Includes sections on the colonial situation of Mozambique and subsequent economic problems, the budget and problems of economic and social development, major developmental targets, the class struggle, the role of FRELIMO in the construction of socialism, consolidation and tasks of the popular democratic state, defense, and the participation of all citizens in national tasks.

Campbell, Horace. "War, Reconstruction and Dependence in Mozambique." Third World Quarterly, vol. 6, no. 4 (October 1984), pp. 839-67.

A detailed analysis of the impact on Mozambique's economy and security of South African destabilization policies and the events which led to the signing between Mozambique and South Africa of the Nkomati Accord. This lengthy article includes descriptions of South African attacks in Mozambique, South Africa's influence on RENAMO, RENAMO's expanding terrorist grip on the countryside, and the ideology and politics of the ruling FRELIMO party. The author concludes that major war and reconstruction are still ahead in both Mozambique and South Africa.

Namibia

Green, Reginald; Kiljunen, Marja-Liisa; and Kiljunen, Kimno; eds. Namibia: The Last Colony. Harlow, Essex, U.K.: Longman, 1981, 258 pp.

Provides useful information on political economy and agricultural development in Namibia. Gives figures on South African Defence Force manpower levels, accounts of SWAPO military achievements, and SWAPO military gains. Material is presented with insight and intellectual discipline, although some statistics are suspect.

South Africa

de Villiers, Dirk and Johanna. P.W. n.p. [South Africa]: Tafelberg, 1984, 376 pp.

A new biography on the life of P.W. Botha, current Executive President of the Republic of South Africa. The book paints a picture of a strong Christian, a staunch family man, a merciless organizer, a very hard worker and a man who almost fanatically believes in loyalty and discipline. Discusses the relationship between John Vorster and P.W. Botha and the influence of the Information Scandal on them. Botha's role as Minister of Defence and the build up of the SADF are examined in detail.

Heitman, H.R. "The Transkei Defence Force." Armed Forces, August 1984, pp. 7-11.

This article discusses the formation of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) in 1975 and the problems faced by the young army in the first years of its inception. Discusses training and the future planning of an air wing. Examines the first battalion-level field training exercise, "Crocodile Tears II," which took place in May 1984. A very informative and interesting article for an introductory look at the TDF.

Jenkins, Simon. "Regional Stability in Southern Africa" Optima, 31 July 1984, pp. 50-55.

This short essay by the politics editor of the Economist examines the world efforts to isolate South Africa and their results, which seem to be to South Africa's benefit, in that the government has been forced to be self-sufficient in arms production through the creation of parastatal organizations. The author also discusses domestic political dynamics among the Afrikaners, asserting that predictions regarding the disintegration of the National Party, and with it Afrikaner political influence, have been proven false.

Southern Africa

Coker, Christopher. "L'Afrique du Sud, l'Afrique Australe et la Securite Regionale (South Africa, Southern Africa and Regional Security)." Politique Etrangere, no. 2 (1984), pp. 287-300.

South Africa's regional strategy has always been a subtle mix of military dissuasion on the one hand and economic conciliation on the other. Nonetheless, the recent nonaggression treaty between South Africa and Mozambique took the world by surprise. The author discusses South Africa's destabilization policies toward its neighbors from 1978 to 1983, examines South Africa's relations with the superpowers, and speculates on the possibility of a new equilibrium in southern Africa. He concludes that because the new accord has done little to modify South Africa's internal situation, it will have little effect in bringing stability to southern Africa.

Copley, Gregory. "Storms of Change." Defense and Foreign Affairs, October 1984, pp. 13-15.

During 1984, South Africa, for the first time in any consistent fashion, decided to take the initiative to break the wall of hostility it faced from the frontline states of southern Africa from where continual political and military harrassment was coming. One of the principal reasons for South Africa's initiative has been international pressure for change in South Africa's regional behavior and internal policies mostly by the West and the United Nations. The article discusses South African internal terrorism and opposition, the slowing momentum of Soviet strategic gains in southern Africa, and the internal security of the regional states.

Somerville, Keith. "The USSR and Southern Africa Since 1976." Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 22, no. 1 (1984), pp. 73-108.

Primarily a study of Soviet relations with Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Includes discussions of Soviet ties to the liberation groups which came to power in these three countries, Soviet attitudes toward the Namibian issue, and Soviet aspirations in South Africa. Concludes that little change in Soviet policy has occurred since Brezhnev nor is any likely to occur under Chernenko.

Zaire

Coleman, Gordon C. "US Foreign Policy to Zaire--Should It Change?" US Army War College Strategic Studies Institute Special Report, AD-A116222, Carlisle Barracks, Pa., 19 April 1982, 31 pp.

A strategic assessment and economic analysis of Zaire in which the progress of nation building and the leadership of President Mobutu are examined. Included is a review of past and present US foreign policy toward Zaire.

The author concludes that Zaire's economic development is dependent on its relations with the United States and that there is no alternative to supporting Mobutu because of Zaire's size, central location, and mineral and economic resources.

Zimbabwe

Kunert, Dirk and Vale, Colin. "The Chimera of the 'Zimbabwe Solution'." Strategic Review, vol. XII, no. 3 (Summer 1984), pp. 23-36.

This essay discusses what is referred to as the "Mugabe Model" or "Zimbabwe Solution." The model connotes a central assumption that self-styled Marxist leaders of revolutionary movements in developing countries carry the "Marxist" label not out of any deep dogmatic conviction, but rather as a kind of revolutionary accreditation, with at best a superficial attachment to a post-revolutionary model of social discipline for their societies. The "Mugabe Model" asserts that the primary commitment of leaders from developing countries is to triumph in the given struggle and to mastery of the post-revolutionary order; ideology is flexibly adapted to these objectives. The authors present historical facts and an analysis of the current situation in Zimbabwe which allows the reader to understand the process of socio-political development in newly independent countries with links to the Soviet bloc. They are analytical in detail and give recommendations on the future course that the foreign policies of Western nations should take.